867 The keyéye is a bird of prey that the children nourish and which
231 is then killed on the children's heads at feasts. Since these birds live only on smaller birds or on fish, the young people are continually hunting or fishing in order to feed them. I have seen them raise a pelican in the following way. They let him fly out to sea after having painted his feathers red. This bird when grown up came back unfailingly each night to his accustomed place. [327]

635 Theft is a great crime among the Caribs who hate the theft as much as the thief. It is said that when they catch one they make a slash with the point of their knife on his shoulders, but I have never seen anyone with these marks. [307]

524 The tibonélle is a spongy fruit which the Caribs use as a ball to play with. [459] A ball which does not bounce is called tarácoñati, [452]

672 Each of the Caribs has a special friend in whom he places an extraordinarily great trust. This friend is termed ibaoñánale or nítignaom. This friendship is so great that it extends to the other brothers who call the friend or compere of their brother ininíboñe,

831 [303] "Taking the bark off the wood and splitting the sapwood": this is also a term of joking with a man who indulges in women. [51] Some men are fickle in love and often change mistresses. [233]

591 Those who are bound by affinity in another carbet are called coyemánocou and coyemericou, for the men follow their wives and not the wives the men, unless they are captains. Thus those who have many daughters have a greater advantage, for their sons-in-law come to live with them, clear their gardens, make their houses, and go fish-
● 534 ing for them. [87] As soon as a daughter is born she is destined for her maternal cousin. Then when the two are old enough and have reached a suitable maturity they celebrate marriage. When this determined time is reached the boy goes to the place or dwelling of his promised wife, but only after the parents have consented. If the girl is going to marry a captain or the son of a captain, as it sometimes happens, she is conducted by her father and mother to his dwelling. Having arrived, she carries his dinner to him on a wicker table and eats with him, sitting on the ground. They then say pouliárou lone which is to say that she is married. They have no dance, although sometimes there is a little drinking party to honor the parents when they have come, but this is very uncommon. [268] When a girl is given in marriage to

584 a man she is told to carry dinner to her intended husband and she eats with him, a thing which is only permitted to wives. [433]

595 They name the wives of the Caribs according to the order in which they were married. It is a general rule that some of the Caribs have many wives. Nevertheless, there are many women without husbands because the greater part of the husbands have only one wife. There are some who have two wives in one or two carbets. It happens quite often when they are in another island that they do not bring their women with them. They obtain new ones only for the time that they expect to live there. I have never seen two women eating or sleeping with one man at the same time. They do not travel together with him in the same canoe. Each has her turn from month to month, even when pregnant. After giving birth, a wife has no relations with her husband for a long period, fearing that this will harm the child if she did so. The above is what ordinarily happens concerning marriage. There are some abnormalities in particular instances. I have seen [235] two men who took their very own daughters as wives, but all the others hated them because of this. The son of one of these men joined the Capuchin Order, because he was so ashamed of the infamy of his father, and he died a Christian death at the convent of these fathers located at the new street of St. Honoré in Paris. I have seen another 583 who had as wives both a mother and her daughter, and some who had carried off the wives of others because they maintained these women belonged to them by right. They have an expression for this situation which means they ravish women belonging to another. Those who carry the women off call them nábognoni. The old men sometimes take girls who are fourteen or fifteen years old, in addition to all of the slave women which the young men capture. Slave women are given by the young men to their fathers or grandfathers. The children of these marriages are respected and treated as legitimate. Finally certain ones stand under suspicion of tendencies against nature, but this evil is recognized and pointed out. [277]

595 The women are able to have one husband only, and several wives call their husband by the same name. Carib men are able to have several wives and use several names to distinguish them. They build their wives separate houses in order to live with them more quietly. Women are rarely found all together with their husband, and they never share his hammock. Each wife has a moon during which time she serves him and follows him everywhere. When the moon expires she yields her

861 they are seldom corrected even if they mistreat their fathers and mothers; most of them are not even reprimanded for such terrible conduct.

576 Nakedness does not shame them [the children], and they belch, fart, and carry on all the other necessities of nature without any re-
868 straint. Their fathers and mothers do not teach them anything except how to fish, to shoot with a bow, to swim, and to weave small baskets and cotton hammocks.

881 When the boys and girls have reached the age of puberty they fast for three weeks or one month and their skin is cut with agouti teeth as we mentioned previously. When the Caribs want to make one of their young men a captain or raise him to the rank of warrior, the young man obtains in advance a bird of prey called Mancefenil, [Mansfénix] which he feeds until the time it is destined for this ceremony. When this day arrives the father invites the most distinguished and oldest of his friends, and when they come together he has his son sit on a stool and encourages him to be courageous in his battles and to revenge himself on his enemies. He then takes the bird by the feet and breaks and crushes its head by striking it against the head of his son. Although he is almost stunned by the blows he has received, the son must not even raise his eyebrows if he wishes to be considered a brave warrior. Then the father mangles and crushes the body of the bird and soaks it in water with a quantity of pimentos. He cuts the skin of his son all over the body and washes him with this spiced water and finally gives him the heart of the Mancefenil bird to eat. This is done, they say, so that he will become more coutageous.

Afterwards a cotton hammock is hung for him from the roof of the house and he is laid stretched out in it. He is to stay there without eating or drinking or moving in any way until his strength is almost gone. They firmly believe that if he should twist himself during this time he would remain in this position for the rest of his life. When the son has passed this test, which is so rigorous that occasionally one of them dies, he passes as a valorous soldier, even though he may very often be only a coward.

● 584 It should be noticed in speaking of their marriages that the young people do not know what it is to make love before they are married. When they wish to marry a girl who does not belong to them by right

584 —the female first cousin descending from the female line does belong to them—they ask her father for her, for they seldom marry against
582 the will of their parents. They have no degree of consanguinity forbidden among them, and it has happened that fathers marry their own daughters from whom they have children, and mothers marry their
[595] sons, although this is a very rare thing. It is quite common to see a case where two sisters have married the same man, and sometimes a
584 man marries a mother and her daughter. If a girl marries a captain or the son of a captain she is led to her husband by her father and her mother, and she carries her husband's dinner to him. The two of them eat it together, sitting on the ground in the center of the house without any other celebration, except perhaps for a little drinking party, that is to say a little debauchery between the parents, although this
591 is quite rare. The woman then lives with her husband. When a man who is not a captain marries a girl, he goes from his own place of residence as we have said, and lives in the house of his father-in-law.
606 In this situation the women have the advantage over their husbands, for they may speak to all kinds of people while the husband does not dare to speak to the parents of his wife, unless this restriction is dispensed with either by their age or by their drunkeness. They avoid meeting each other by making devious paths. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot take back what they have said, the one spoken toturns his head to one side in order to avoid looking at the man who speaks, if he must hear him. This strange custom was reported to me by a young man who had been a slave among them for
551 a long time. Husbands and wives change their names when they are married.

595 Polygamy is common among them and almost all of them have several wives and sometimes even six or seven. They even have wives in different islands where they are accustomed to go. It is chiefly the captain who boasts of having a large family in order to gain more credit among his people and to render himself more formidable to his enemies. A Carib who has several wives builds a small house for each of them. The husband visits them there so that
[605] for one month—they count by moons—he lives with one wife, and another month with another. Concerning this point it appears that there is no kind of jealousy among them. Women of Europe, call it a miracle if you wish!

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

868 to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

[756] Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

582 The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes,

[834] contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful

● 584 warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain

[585] the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her

591 husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island.

562 The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens.

[586] Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were

[351] divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

888 **Death and burial.**—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm.

600 They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

582 [161] Today, the Dominica Caribs' sexual selection is limited not only by the smallness of their community (about 400 including half-breeds: men, women, and children), but by a growing disapproval of marriage between close cousins, expressed in the usual way, by ridicule. Nevertheless, unions of a more or less permanent nature between first cousins, half and even full siblings, and of mother and daughter with the same man, have occurred and been tolerated within recent times. There appears to subsist the feeling, moreover, that cross-cousins are "less family" than parallel-cousins; and one old woman expounded to me the widespread belief in the genetic inheritance of father's "spirit" and mother's "blood." Sister exchange is not infrequent, while marriage of two brothers to two sisters is extraordinarily common. I know of at least two cases in which a man has children with his wife's unmarried sister; and I should estimate that polygyny (extra-legal, of course) in general is as frequent today as it ever was, being confined, as is natural, to better-than-average bread-winning males.

883 Once school is left behind (12 to 15 years of age), opportunities for anything but furtive meetings between the sexes are rare. The young men spend their days at sea, or working in the high-woods, while the girls, together with their mothers, work around the house, or plant, weed, and reap in provision-gardens scattered far and wide. Neighborly visiting is not common—partly because [579] of petty inter-family feuds, and partly because local standards of hospitality require an exchange of presents between visitor and hostess every time a call is made. The monthly church mass at Salybia, occasional wakes and dances, [517] and the young men's "serenale" on fine moonlit nights are about the only relaxations [533] known. The latter is the name given to promenading bands who make the round of neighboring houses to the accompaniment of Basque tambourines and flutes.

●584 Should a young man call at the home of a prospective sweetheart (or of one whose relationship with him was unknown to her parents), he would not mention her, nor would she appear unless called in from the kitchen or back room by her mother or father. Should his visit coincide with a mealtime (at which even strangers present in the yard are always asked to participate), it would be a sure indication that his suit was acceptable, if the girl herself were sent to serve him [522] food and drink. But in no case would either display any affection before others, although clumsy and to us coarse sexual jokes might not be out of place. No tasks are required of a girl's suitor today, though the old people say that former custom required him to limit his attentions to a bi-monthly visit for some time; and that it was his duty to sweep the yard before his sweetheart's house before leaving after these occasions.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946

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Perhaps it was such restrictions that led to the now all too frequent practice of lying in wait for and seducing a girl who has been sent out for wood or water. The Caribs call this "to wàrikád" (cf. Breton, kawàlikátiti *il est paillard, il monte bien*). It is remarkable that, although she may run away or resist, the average Carib girl will neither call out for help nor betray her and her would-be seducer's presence. On the other hand, once seduced, she will most likely tell her mother of it, although she knows well enough that she alone will be punished for failing to escape.

But apart from all promiscuous relations, there are many extra-legal unions whose character and stability are such that they may be termed orthodox. In these cases, the consent of the girl's parents is requisite, and it is in their home that the young man then comes to live and labor. Hence many parents' reluctance to have their sons marry, and their readiness to accept extra-legal mates for their daughters. Should the young couple prove incompatible, the husband may return to his own home, or seek another mate elsewhere; while any children of the union remain with their mother and receive occasional gifts from their father. More often, however, the union strengthens; and sooner or later a separate establishment in the vicinity of the girl's home is set up, with or without legalization of the marriage. Of romance in our sense there is little, and that little laughed at. Men look for a wife who will prove neither lazy nor weak, women for a mate who will be a good provider. Today, these qualifications are often first sought in those of mixed or full negro blood; but while a Carib man may introduce a Creole wife, a girl who marries outside the Reserve has to leave it.

Legal (or rather, religious) marriages usually take place between mature couples only and when the bride has already given proof of fertility. Actually, it is not uncommon for her to have several children who do not necessarily belong to her husband nor to any other one man. Of course children soon come to be an asset under primitive conditions, and few men are above taking advantage of a wife's pre-marital adolescent daughter; but on the whole Carib men are remarkably tolerant of a wife's pre-marital lapses, and treat her "outside children" as well as their own.

It is not possible to give any general rule as to the frequency or duration of matrilocal (unilocal) residence, as this depends on any number of circumstances. Usually, the younger and less experienced the couple, the longer will they remain without a home of their own; but lack of space or disharmony between young and old may be a deciding factor as against economic interest. The following household lists, taken at random, will serve as examples: